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623 574 pitara, to join in the banquet. With a clear voice he called: "*Kakí! Kakí!* Grandfather! Grandfather!" followed by the formula of invitation. Then he took his seat again at the head of the council, by the side of the little raised wooden throne dedicated to the village forefathers. Then everybody relaxed, breaking the tense silence; they discussed village affairs, the improvements of the temple, the coming feast, and gossiped for a while before wrapping the remaining rice in banana leaves to take home.

621 [82] [769] The ceremony was a clear example of the religious significance of the social organization of the village; the close relationship between the cult of the ancestors and the administration of the community. A Balinese village is a self-contained, independent community, a little republic ruled by a council of representative villagers (*krama desa*), in which everyone has equal rights and obligations. The independent village is called a *desa*, a term we shall employ to designate the legal, "complete" village that has the three reglementary temples: (1) the civil temple (*pura desa*), where the main celebrations are held and where the *balé agung* is located; (2) the temple of "origin" (*pura puséh*, the "navel"), the ancient shrine of the earlier days of the community, dedicated to the symbolical patriarch-founder of the village; and (3) the temple of the dead (*pura dalem*), out in the cemetery.

[346] [775]

Such a village is economically and politically independent of all others, except for a curious relation of blood. It often happens [769] that various neighbouring villages are united by a strong bond into an association of related villages which worship a common original ancestor and with a common temple of "origin," located in the oldest village of the group, which they recognize as a "head" or "mother" village. From this it is supposed that the other villages sprung, and when they grew became independent. Such village associations co-operate with one another by sending offerings and representatives to the temple feasts of the other desas.

621 778 623 Just as the temple of origin is the shrine of the Great Ances-

[i.e., a monthly banquet of village council of elders. -Analyst]

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seven hundred *kepeng* according to the exchange. There is no demand for their insignificant products, and the deflated Dutch currency has become harder than ever to obtain.

The Balinese are more and more eager for the " advantages of civilization " in the form of inferior foreign cloth, bicycles, flashlights, aniline dyes, and motor-cars, and if their miserable earnings are not taken away by the Arab merchants it is only because they are already due for back taxes. Besides a tax on each household, there is a sawa tax (*padjeg*) and a tax (*upeti*) on dry grounds bearing coconut and coffee trees. The most hated of taxes is that paid every time a Balinese kills a pig, no matter how small, for which he needs a certificate. This has led to clandestine slaughter and with it the reduction of the pig supply, and the reward promised to denouncers has introduced the element of discord into otherwise unified communities. Dr. Korn, the authority on Balinese sociology, says that the population would prefer an export tax on cattle to the troublesome slaughter tax.

With the relentless drain of the island's wealth, poverty, too, is on the increase and the Balinese are threatened with the loss of their lands through failure to pay taxes. They have been forced to sell whatever they possessed of value — antiques, fine brocades, jewellery, and even the bits of gold that decorate their krisses — to tourists and gold-hoarders, while theft and prostitution are on the increase. It is to be feared that if present conditions continue, the simple and well-organized life of the Balinese will be seriously disrupted and their institutions will collapse as a result of the unavoidable social unrest.

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spirits of their ancestors dwelling in the summits of the volcanoes that form the island; ordinary human beings living in the middle world, the land that lies between the mountain tops and the sea, which is the home of devils and fanged giants, the enemies of mankind.

Placed between these two poles from which emanate opposing forces (the positive from the mountains and the negative from the underworld), the entire life of the calm and sensitive Balinese – their daily routine, social organization, their ethics, manners, art; in short, the total culture of the island – is moulded by a system of traditional rules subordinated to religious beliefs. By this system they regulate every act of their lives so that it shall be in harmony with the natural forces, which they divide eternally into pairs: male and female – the creative principle; right and left; high and low – the principles of place, direction, and rank; strong and weak, or healthy and sick, clean and unclean; sacred and powerful or unholy and dangerous; in general: Good and Evil, Life and Death.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

The conglomerate of religious principles manifests itself in elaborate cults of ancestors and deities of fertility, of fire, water, earth, and sun, of the mountains and the sea, of gods and devils. They are the backbone of the Balinese religion, which is generally referred to as Hinduism, but which is in reality too close to the earth, too animistic, to be taken as the same esoteric religion as that of the Hindus of India. Since the earliest times, when Bali was under the rule of the great empires that flourished in the golden era of Hinduistic Java, the various forms of Javanese religion became in turn the religions of Bali, from the Mahayanic Buddhism of the Sailendras in the seventh century, the orthodox Sivaism of the ninth, to the demoniac practices of the Tantric sects of the eleventh century. In later times Bali adopted the modified, highly Javanized religion of Madjapahit, when Hinduism had become strongly tinged with native Indo-

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nesian ideas. Each of these epochs left a deep mark in Balinese ritual; to the native Balinese cults of ancestors, of the elements, and of evil spirits, were added the sacrifices of blood and the practices of black magic of the Tantric Buddhists, the Vishnuite cult of the underworld, Brahmanic juggling of mystic words and cabalistic syllables, the cremation of the dead, and so forth, all, however, absorbed and transformed to the point of losing their identity, to suit the temper of the Balinese.

It is true that Hindu gods and practices are constantly in evidence, but their aspect and significance differ in Bali to such an extent from orthodox Hinduism that we find the primitive beliefs of a people who never lost contact with the soil rising supreme over the religious philosophy and practices of their masters. Like the Catholicism of some American Indians, Hinduism was simply an addition to the native religion, more as a decoy to keep the masters content, a strong but superficial veneer of decorative Hinduistic practices over the deeply rooted animism of the Balinese natives.

Religion is to the Balinese both race and nationality; a Balinese loses automatically the right to be called a Balinese if he changes his faith or if a Balinese woman marries a Mohammedan, a Chinese, or a Christian, because she takes leave forever of her own family gods when she moves into her husband's home and instead worships his gods from that time on. The religious sages, the Brahmanic priests, remain outsiders, aloof from the ordinary Balinese, who have their own priests, simple people whose office is to guard and sweep the community temples, in which there are no idols, no images of gods to be worshipped. These temples are frequented by the ancestral gods, who are supposed to occupy temporarily the little empty shrines dedicated to them, when visiting their descendants. The Balinese live with their forefathers in a great family of the dead and the living, and it would be absurd for them to try to make converts of another nationality, since the ancestors of the converts would still remain of another race apart.

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where they stage wild battles of the gods, the *artjas*, which are placed inside baskets wrapped in *polén* cloth and topped with bunches of leaves. The baskets are firmly attached to bamboo stretchers carried by half-naked men who rush at full speed against others carrying "rival" deities, trying to knock each other down. A crowd armed with spears joins in the free-for-all while firecrackers explode, and everybody yells, pushes, and tramples everyone else. The excitement is followed by an equally mad kris dance.

GODS AND DEMONS: OFFERINGS AND EXORCISMS

Good and evil, right and left, gods and demons, are banded into two opposing factions, constantly at war, in which the weapons are their magic powers and the stakes the lives and interests of the Balinese themselves, compelling them to propitiate both sides so as not to attract the wrath of either party. Only by the proper balance between the negative and positive forces are they able to maintain the spiritual harmony of the community. This is particularly important at certain times, such as childbirth, menstruation, death in the village, or when a crime that disturbs the magic balance of the village has been committed; circumstances that weaken and pollute the protective life power of the individual or of the village and render them vulnerable to the attacks of evil.

The antithesis of the state of normalcy, of health and cleanliness (*sutjí, éning*) is for a person or a community to be *sebel*, unclean, physically and spiritually polluted and run down, a condition that must be cured by cleansing factors and ceremonies to give added strength to the soul – the making of offerings, the use of purifying water and fire, and the recitation of secret magic words by a qualified priest, the three elements of Balinese ritual.

To counterbalance the healthy influence of the gods who produce cleanliness, luck, and fertility, there are evil spirits responsible for all illness and misfortune. Among the countless

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621 officiated as a duty to the community and without reward. If to the inherent spirit of co-operation and high ethical standards [464] of the Balinese we add their model institutions, we may find the explanation in the fact that the Balinese never actually became wage-earners, and even now coolie labour for hire remains unimportant. Despite their poverty the Balinese are freer and live better than do most natives under colonial rule.

177 However, the contact of Balinese culture, first with the feudal princes and lately with our civilization in the form of trade, unsuitable education, tourists, and now missionaries, has made a deep dent in the simple and logical life of the Balinese. The changes are taking place so rapidly that they were strikingly evident even after a two years' absence, the time elapsed between our first and second visits to the island. Fine roads and new necessities are encouraging the consumption of foreign commodities such as imported cloth, motor-cars, and gasoline, and the islanders will learn to desire more and more the "advantages of civilization," thus creating a gigantic exodus of the island's wealth. The Balinese have lived well under a self-sufficient cooperative system, the foundation of which is reciprocal assistance, with money used only as a secondary commodity. Being extremely limited in means to obtain the cash – scarcer every day – necessary to pay taxes and satisfy new needs, it is to be [182] feared that the gradual breaking down of their institutions, together with the drain on their national wealth, will make coolies, thieves, beggars, and prostitutes of the proud and honourable Balinese of this generation, and will, in the long run, bring a social and economic catastrophe.

000 Unfortunate as this is, the power of our civilization to penetrate can no longer be ignored. It would be futile to recommend measures to prevent the relentless march of Westernization; tourists cannot be kept out, the needs of trade will not be restricted for sentimental reasons, and missionary societies are often powerful. To advocate the unconditional preservation of their picturesque culture in the midst of modern civilization would be

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

nesian pattern, in which the seating of the members on the *balé agoeng* (the great meeting pavilion) is the central ceremonial event. It is important in bringing together the members at a specified time, providing them with a common purpose in the service of the gods. In this it serves to weld the village into a unit. The food which is prepared, richer in content and more elaborate in its dressing than the everyday diet, is ceremonially offered to the gods, but actually eaten by the villagers. The entertainment and the contests, likewise offered to the gods, make of it a true festival for the people's enjoyment.

The main theme of the festival is the coming of the gods to the temple, a descent from on high (*ring loewoer*) with an appropriate ritual of reception, and with a reversal of this ritual when they are again sent home. The temple, though it is the house of the gods, is considered empty of the godly presence except when this is especially invoked. Although it is possible at other times to make an offering and offer a prayer to the gods in the temple, such an offering in itself would constitute an invocation of the presence, a calling down of the gods. For the regular calendric festival the presence is invited for three days, to do the gods honor, and to assure the village against their displeasure. The temple must be supported by the yearly festival, the *odalan*, and the smaller half-yearly feast, the *sepian*, and in this the members carry the obligation in perpetuity. After their death, it is to be carried on by their descendants. In the very rare case that a temple is abandoned and falls into disuse, the site is considered dangerous, and it is believed that evil forces are almost certain to lurk there. But if the gods are properly honored and fittingly celebrated at their yearly festival, their good will towards the village and their protection is to be counted on. As the priest says, the intent of his most frequently repeated formula is "May the gods be pleased."

Of primary importance in the ritual is the making and asking of holy water. Every ritual sequence begins with this, and the aspersion of the site, the offerings, and the devotees, in oft repeated forms make up a significant part of the ceremonial. With the rites of aspersion go the ritual use of the priest's bell, and of the incense brazier. The dedication of the offerings of food and betel, with the pouring of libations, constitute the main body of the ceremonial passages. Besides these, there are the special rites of purification, including appeasement of the demons. In this manner, while the forces of good are invoked with ceremonial appropriate to the gods, the forces of evil are at the same time held in check by offering to the demons edibles to their taste.

The prayers are a litany of invocation, interspersed with words of praise and *apologia* for the fitness of the service. The most frequently repeated formulae are those conveying "Honor and Hail!" and the plea for the prosperity and happiness of the worshippers, equivalent, in the priest's interpretation, to "May the gods be pleased." These prayer

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

4:Be lo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

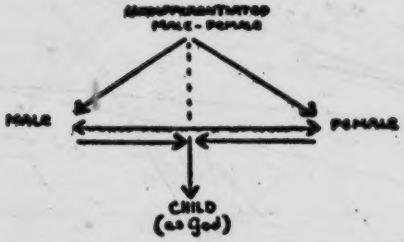

FIGURE 3. CHART INDICATING REESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLARITY AND EMERGENCE OF THE CHILD AS GOD.

elements, is like a god, and a god is like a child. It is the descendant, in a straight line, from the undifferentiated male female element, which will again divide as either its male or its female potential is realized.

Thus the whole picture could be schematized in this fashion.

The crossing of sex roles (there are in Bali both male and female transvestites) is one of the possibilities afforded by the culture. There is a definite high valuation placed upon the godly figure which combines the characteristics of both sexes, Sang Hyang Toenggal, The Solitary, or Tjintija, who preceded the separation of male and female in Balinese cosmology. He is, in time, before all the gods, before Siva, Brahma, and Vishnu. And, as each such god is in Bali, he is thought of as Man and Wife (*lanangistri*, or, Sanskrit *ardhanarisvara*).[6]

The complementary principle is stated and restated. Through the union of male and female, a child is created. The child, however, is once more of uncertain sex—at least up until birth. It is, so to speak, in a direct line of descent from Sang Hyang Toenggal for it contains the potentialities of both the sexes. The most godlike infants are male and female twins, said to be *ardhanarisvara*, man and wife, already married in the womb. Such twins are magically dangerous and make the village unclean (*sebel*) if they are born to people of low caste. For people of high caste they are a good sign for the boy is born like a god; he brings his wife with him out of the womb; he marries his sister. In this, the Balinese boy and girl twins repeat the theme of the Balinese legendary "original couple" who came together out of a coconut blossom.[7]

[6] Radhakrishnan, speaking of Hinduism in India, says, "Marriage is regarded as sacred. The very gods are married. When the Hindu descends from the adoration of the Absolute and takes to the worship of a personal god, his god has always a consort. He does not worship a bachelor or a virgin. Siva is *ardhanarisvara*, and his image signifies the cooperative, interdependent, separately incomplete but jointly complete masculine and feminine functions of the supreme being" (Radhakrishnan, 1927).

[7] Belo, 1935.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

835 684 village, lest they bring ill luck and disaster. It can be imagined that the infringement of this incest law has not been frequent.

Less serious punishment falls upon the offenders in second degree incest, which is (1) sexual connection of a man with his aunt, either his father's or his mother's sister; or (2) connection with his first cousin once removed, that is his father's or his mother's first cousin. The first is called reramă dimisan, "mother at (or of) the first cousin," the second reramă dimindon, "mother at (or of) the second cousin." Offenders in these cases are banished [805] from the village for a period of a year (420 days), but are allowed to return [783] to the village after the completion of the necessary purification rites. They spend the intervening year in a hut put up for them on some unholy ground, the graveyard or the crossroads, and are not allowed during that time even to enter the village limits. It will be noted that both relations have the mother element reflected in the terminology, and that the man belongs to the generation younger than the woman, and therefore stands with her as a child to its mother. Similar relations but reversed, as of a man to his niece, or to his first cousin's daughter, are not forbidden, and entail no banishment, according to the old adat. There is here a feeling that the male should be older than the female, as he is her superior, and that he 582 should not marry, or have connection with, a woman belonging to an older 182 generation, even though he might be her senior in actual age. The law also may be based on a desire of the older males to maintain their authority within the household, and to prevent younger males from threatening their authority by marrying into a generation equal to their own. And perhaps it may have originated as a safeguard to the morality of the household during the absence, at work or at war, of the father, the head of the family.

582 845 In connection with the incest laws an exception may be mentioned, that of boy and girl twins, who may marry each other.[9] Among the djabă the birth of such twins is considered a great wrong (manak salah), for the brother and sister are thought to have had a too intimate contact in the womb of their mother. The event will bring famine and disaster upon the entire village, unless averted by the temporary banishment of the children and their parents, followed by great offerings for purification and the propitiation of the evil spirits. When these rites are completed, and the twins have grown up, they may marry, for their incestuous connection is considered to be already atoned for. Since Balinese legendary history contains many examples of boy and girl twins who married and brought forth a tribe, or a line of kings, there is a certain feeling that boy and girl twins

[9] See the author's Rites and Customs Connected with the Birth of Twins in Bali (Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Batavia, September, 1935 [in press]).

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure

CLIFFORD GEERTZ
Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

AS ALL things Balinese, Balinese villages are peculiar, complicated, and extraordinarily diverse. There is no simple uniformity of social structure to be found over the whole of the small, crowded countryside, no straightforward form of village organization easily pictured in terms of single typological construction, no "average" village, a description of which may well stand for the whole. Rather, there is a set of marvelously complex social systems, no one of which is quite like any other, no one of which fails to show some marked peculiarity of form. Even contiguous villages may be quite differently organized; formal elements—such as caste or kinship—of central importance in one village may be of marginal significance in another; and each of the twenty-five or so villages sampled in the Tabanan and Klungkung regions of south Bali in 1957 —a total area of only some 450 square miles— showed important structural features in some sense idiosyncratic with respect to the others.[1] Neither simplicity nor uniformity are Balinese virtues.

Yet all these small-scale social systems are clearly of a family. They represent variations, however intricate, on a common set of organizational themes, so that what is constant in Balinese village structure is the set of components out of which it is constructed, not the structure itself. These components are in themselves discrete, more or less independent of one another: the Balinese village is in no sense a corporate territorial unit coordinating all aspects of life in terms of residence and land ownership, as peasant villages have commonly been described, but it is rather a compound of social structures, each based on a different principle of social affiliation and adjusted to one another only insofar as seems essential. It is this multiple, composite nature of Balinese village structure which makes possible its high degree of variation while maintaining a general formal type, for the play between the several discrete structural forms is great enough to allow a wide range of choice as to the mode of their integration with one another in any particular instance. Like so many organic compounds composed of the same molecules arranged in different configurations, Balinese villages display a wide variation in structure on the basis of a set of invariant fundamental ingredients.

Perhaps the best systematic formulation of this type of village structure is to conceptualize it in terms of the intersection of theoretically separable planes of social organization. Each such plane consists of a set of social institutions based on a wholly different principle of affiliation, a different manner of grouping individuals or keeping them apart. In any particular village all important planes will be present, but the way in which they are adjusted to one another, the way in which they intersect, will differ, for there is no clear princi-

[1] [See pp. 1011-1012, category 116, for footnotes.—Analyst]

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

forms but one patus, "c" two, and so on. Thus a man may well have his hamlet alliance in one place (not even necessarily where he lives), his temple ties in a second, and his cremation obligations in yet a third, though of course in a majority of cases some of these affiliations may be merged.

Since Njalian contains representatives of a wide range of caste titles, the interaction of the status hierarchy with the hamlet and temple systems adds yet another dimension of complexity. Hamlet "a" consists entirely of Brahmana and higher Satria people, including the ruling family, but some lesser Triwangsa belong to "b," "c", "d", and "e", mixed in among the Sudra. Hamlets "f", "g", and "h" are wholly Sudra, with "f" consisting of but a single dadia kin group, a rather uncommon occurrence. Caste affects temple organization too. In temple set I the death temple was until two years ago divided by a low wall; the Sudra organized their festival separately and held it on one side of the wall, the Triwangsa held theirs on the other. But this has been changed for reasons of economy and democracy, and now all worship together. Voluntary organizations, of which there are literally dozens, irrigation societies, two main ones being involved in this area, and some thirty or forty kin groups also complicate social relationships, though kinship is evidently less important here as an organizing force than in many other villages.

In such an admittedly extreme case of cross-cutting social groupings, the problem of integration, of mutual adjustments among the groups, is a very pressing one. At times open fights have broken out between leaders of various groups over the question of who had prior rights on the services of members common to them. Heavy concurrent demands often mean that work is only hastily done; when the slit gong is beaten to call together members of a given group, many people fail to appear because they either were too far away to hear the gong or thought that it was being sounded for another group to which they were not obligated. To rationalize this situation the Perbekel has instituted a monthly meeting of all important group leaders—fifty people or so—in which he tries valiantly to get them to coordinate their several efforts. He has also attempted to territorialize the system more by making hamlet and temple membership dependent on residence but, though he has had a little success in this direction, most of his efforts have been resisted by the villagers who, he claims, prefer things to be complicated. Despite the fact that he is the traditional ruler of the area, that he has been Perbekel for thirty years, and that he now has the whole Indonesian State behind him, he says that there is really very little he can do in reforming village institutions. People bow and act subservient, but they do just as they wish.

2. *Tihingan.* Although it lies only six miles or so east of Njalian, in the heart of the former kingdom of Klungkung, Tihingan differs from Njalian in most of its important features. Unlike Njalian, Tihingan has never been the seat of a lord, has relatively few Triwangsa and the Perbekel is a Sudra. Unlike Njalian, social affiliations, though complexly organized, are quite systematically integrated rather than randomly crosscutting. And unlike Njalian, there are within the perbekelan three definite spatial clusters of social loyalty to